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a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are now adopting in response to the impact of the white man's power? This is the question to be explored in the next section of this chapter. I shall put foward the suggestion that the Orokaiva actually developed an interesting and satisfactory explanation of recent cultural changes, using the concept of a new *dema* who set new exchange cycles into motion. In demonstrating this point, I shall quote at length from informants' statements so as to indicate clearly the nature of the primary evidence on which I have drawn.

2. *A New Starting Mechanism*

I shall begin by quoting a tape-recorded speech made by a member of the Higaturu local government council at a meeting held at Torogota village, Sasembata valley.[2] The reader may well doubt the sincerity of this speech, as I did myself when I first heard it. I discovered, however, that councillors frequently address meetings in similar terms. Trusted Sivepe informants told me that the recorded speech is typical of what that councillor usually said. It was elicited when I asked the men of Torogota for tales about olden times (*iji matu*).

The councillor started with a sketch of the wars of his forebears. His 'grandfather' Bohuka, with a group of migrants from Waseta, and other villages, drove off the inhabitants of a village called Hingo Kakasita and settled on the land of that village:

> Today his grandchildren call this our land, but they are weak grandchildren of strong ancestors. . . . All this is communal land (*company enda*) conquered by our forebears. As a new day has now arrived, I tell you to be united. Therefore you must follow my instructions. The councillor for Sasembata is speaking. Everybody who speaks north, east, south or west should now stop.
>
> Now I am speaking about this old village here. I am Councillor Ase. I am saying: follow this word and hear it. I shall therefore tell you how they (i.e. the Europeans, the *taupa*) talk: 'Those men were all felling the tree. The man whose name I mentioned was a fighting man. His enemies killed the wayfarer like a dog. The Waseta people beat and chased them, came here and stayed.'
>
> I am councillor Ase. Here we live, people, in this very old village. We are the descendants of fighting ancestors, therefore we live here. We say that we live in the land where the *seha* grows (a useless bush tree) or where the *inota* grows (a useless cane looking like a sugar cane) or on *gindiri* (i.e. sandy, infertile) soil. We stay in an old village, but people are saying we are living on communal land; we are staying on a place we took during a raid. They are saying: 'The Waseta men had weak descendants. They stayed here because they were defeated.'

A little later during the same recording session, Councillor Ase spoke again. This time he started with a description of various magical powers traditionally possessed by the Orokaiva. He continued:

> In those days people did these things. They did not take jobs for only Jesus Christ gave jobs that people could take. The village constable bound people (with handcuffs) and took them if he believed they were telling lies. He took them to Kokoda and Court was held; then they would start work . . .

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> When a summons was issued by the village constable, then those magic things were put to work (to save the accused from conviction) . . .
>
> In those days men worked for a while but then stopped shifting the earth. The village constable bound them and they went to court in Kokoda. If the court thought they were lying or if they said 'I don't know,' they were taken away and the governor stopped their work. This is the tale of those men of olden days.

Although the passages quoted here are full of obscurities, the situation in which these speeches were delivered makes them worthy of careful analysis. The councillor, who was born in Torogota, had recently moved to Kongohambo, a neighbouring village built in modern style. Some families had accompanied him, but he wanted Torogota village to be abandoned altogether and the whole population transferred to Kongohambo. In his first speech, he gave reasons with which he hoped to persuade his people. We are thus given a glimpse of the social philosophy of his listeners. Although the latter had no intention of leaving Torogota, they did share the basic sentiments to which the councillor appealed. They agreed communal ownership of land was no longer quite fashionable, the village was getting too old, too much land was lying idle, it was bad for labourers to be unreliable, it was bad to kill wayfarers like dogs. They desired to emulate the feats of their ancestors and they knew this could no longer be done by raiding neighbouring villages. This traditional road to renown is no longer open; obviously, new roads have to be found.

The main burden of the councillor's speech was that his people had not found these new roads to power: *ivo ambupu-ta ahihijera*. (Strong ancestors have reared feeble descendants.) *Ivo* (strength, power) is a basic concept in Orokaiva thought, and is somewhat similar to the Polynesian concept *mana*. It is the quality that enables man to be successful in 'ways with which ordinary technique cannot cope' (Firth 1967: 191). It is transmitted to a man by his father at the time of conception, and is augmented by the fact of success, and particularly by the killing of an animal or an enemy, the eating of meat, or the making of gifts. Bohuka, the ancestor of the councillor's lineage, and his companions, undoubtedly had *ivo* which was augmented by their conquests, but his descendants who inherited this *ivo* stood to lose it unless they themselves achieved something of commensurate importance. The Orokaiva, unlike the Tikopia, do not think of this magical efficacy as being essentially an attribute of chiefs or leaders, though men of influence do have *ivo* to an exceptional degree. In the terms of the theory developed in the present work, *ivo* is always an object of exchange, received from an exchange partner, often in the form of meat, as will be shown in Chapter VII. The ultimate source of *ivo*, however, are *dema* figures such as Totoima and Pekuma who first gave *ivo* to man.

The councillor's second speech is one of several pieces of evidence that lead me to suggest that the Orokaiva regard Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure and a powerful source of *ivo*. A Papuan pastor was the first to put this idea to me when we discussed an Orokaiva dance performed at his Church during the Christmas service. The dancers, dressed in traditional garb and beating drums, filing in a wide circle past the cross erected on the mission station, sang a traditional chant originally performed after a victim had been killed in a cannibal raid. The pastor drew my attention to the similarity between the killing of such

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a victim and Christ's Passion. He also pointed out that by performing this chant, the dancers were sacrificing their bodies to Christ. There was no harm in this performance, he said, because the sentiments in both forms of religion were the same.

Councillor Ase added a more earthy dimension to the pastor's words when he declared that it was Jesus Christ who had given the Papuans the benefit of wage labour. This sentiment might have appealed to Governor Murray. It completes the image of Jesus as *dema*. First, Jesus was killed and gave His body to mankind, or to His followers, by being crucified. His body is still being consumed at Communion services, the deep sacredness of which the Papuans recognise. He also left behind him immense *gifts*: the technology (cargo) of the white man, and money with which men may acquire this cargo. Wage labour is one of the means now open to the Papuans for acquiring at least a little of this money and cargo. Thirdly, like all *dema*, he left behind a set of rules which men have to follow if they are to obtain full access to the particular kind of *ivo* he bequeathed upon mankind.

It now becomes a little clearer how the Orokaiva have found a rationale, satisfying to themselves, for the behaviour patterns they are adopting in response to the impact of white power. The coming of the white man is viewed as an event of the same magnitude as the addition of a new *dema* to the pantheon. The most crucial fact about this new *dema* is that it was through his help that the white man obtained extraordinary wealth and power. It was hinted to me from time to time that the white man should have been far more generous in sharing this wealth and power with the Papuans. At the same time, however, it was emphasised that the Orokaiva had already received some substantial benefits, for example the introduction of money, wage labour and cash cropping. My informant the councillor, whose contact with white authority had been somewhat closer than was usual in the district, claimed special knowledge about how European-type power might be obtained. It was on the basis of this knowledge that he felt entitled to advise his people to shift to another village. But his audience did not really believe he knew anything.

While the councillor's competence was doubted, his basic ideas were generally accepted: Orokaiva progress was thought to depend on the following of prescriptions originating from the *dema* Jesus Christ. The white man had revealed only part of these prescriptions. (In this respect Orokaiva beliefs resembled those reported by Burridge 1960, 1969.) It was thought, moreover, that these rules prescribed ritual acts performed for the first time by Jesus Christ and now imitated by those who are fully initiated in His mysteries. While these Orokaiva beliefs may impede their understanding of the workings of white society, they do provide a rationale for those white behaviour patterns which Orokaiva are able to observe. They also provide a charter for the changes Orokaiva are actually adopting in their exchange system and elsewhere.

One experience at Hohorita made me aware how closely the introduction of Western culture is identified with the action of traditional *dema*. Due to the death of most of the older men of the Sangara tribe at the time of the eruption, their descendants grew up at Hohorita without much knowledge of myths and traditions. Nonetheless, when I visited the village, a number of men spent several nights with me telling me what they knew. Their information would mostly be

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gain will be not only ethnographic but also theoretical: we shall have learnt that the analysis of mediating elements in exchange may provide the key to social structure in an exchange-oriented culture.

2. *Taro Ancestors*

I shall begin the analysis of taro symbolism with one myth especially rich in content, which includes all of the five characters, some of whom, in one way or another, appear in all the myths. It also stands out by the clarity of its detail on the cultivation cycle. As I proceed, I shall discuss some variant myths which emphasise certain themes omitted in the main one or convey the same message in different codes.

The myth is part of the Totoima cycle. It has been reported, very incompletely, by Williams (1930: 155, 158–9, 276) who believed that 'the eating of Totoima's body is generally made to account for nothing more than differences of dialect'. On the other hand the informant who told me the myth in Sivepe volunteered the explanation that it was the story of the origin of taro cultivation. His version, the fullest of a number collected, did not mention the name Totoima, but it occurred in different versions of the same tale given to me by others in the Sasembata district.

1. A husband slept with his wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to a male child. The husband came and asked: 'Woman, where does the boy come from?' 'I have just given birth to him.' 'Then he is mine to eat. Strike and sever him; when he is dead cut him up and cook him for me to eat,' he said.

(*Commentary*: These words are clearer if we remember that the narrator is thinking simultaneously of a woman giving birth to a child and a woman harvesting a taro. The Orokaiva believe that a growing taro has spirit life and that this spirit life is lodged in the leafy top. Therefore a taro does not die when it is harvested but the spirit life stays in it as long as the leafy top is not severed from the tuber. The act of cutting the top from the taro thus always bears a symbolic similarity to the act of killing. We shall see later that there is a crucial difference between gifts of taro with and without the tops.)

2. The woman was very sad because she had to kill and cook her child. They slept together again and this time the woman gave birth to a female child which was treated in the same manner. Male twin children followed next. But when the man came to fetch these, he could not find them. The mother had taken them to a hiding-place where she covered them with a heap of weeds (*bivese*) by the root of a tree.

(*Commentary*: The word *bivese*, used in all versions of the tale, is a gardening term used to describe a heap of weeds left in a field after clearing. It was a woman's task to keep taro plants snugly protected after planting by using these weeds as a cover. The tale thus continues to unfold on two levels: the social and horticultural level. The twins are being treated in the manner of seed taro after planting.)

3. On some pretext, the mother returned to the field, nursed the children and covered them over again. When she came home, her husband said: 'Wife, what did you do with my child that was in your belly?' 'Husband I threw my

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child into the water because it was bad,' she replied. 'I am going to collect cabbage.'

(*Commentary*: The reference to the water is the first of a series of apparent lies which always hide a symbolic truth. In this case it is easy to see the meaning, as several myths exist linking the origin of the taro with water. In one myth a woman was prodding the ground with a digging stick. She found water there (and this was the origin of water); later taro grew in that spot. In another myth a boy and girl who were siblings were washed away in a flood on a coconut tree. At the place where they finally landed they discovered taro. Taro, being identified with a human child, is thought of a growing in the water of the womb. The growth of the taro plant requires a very great deal of water and heavy rain so that the growing plant actually lives in a watery environment, which thus resembles a womb. In this sense, her statement is true.)

4. 'I am going to collect cabbage.' Having said this she climbed a cabbage tree. As she looked down and saw the place where she had put her children, she began to weep. When she returned to the ground, her husband said: 'Wife why did I see you cry when you climbed to collect cabbage?' 'When I went to collect the cabbage the sap squirted into my eyes and I rubbed them,' she said. 'You are lying,' he said.

5. When the children were fully grown, she took them to the mountain far away. She told them their history; 'therefore, I must leave you behind and you must stay,' she said. When she joined her husband again, he asked: 'Why did you stay away so late?' 'As soon as I had done my work and planted my seed (*bere kovitie*), I started on my way home,' she said. 'Woman, you are telling lies,' he replied. When the man understood what his wife had been saying, he went away.

(*Commentary*: When a taro is fully grown it begins to grow shoots on the side of the main rhizome. It is then the duty of the woman to take cuttings from the plant. Strictly speaking these cuttings (Orokaiva: *bere*) are tops of corm-bearing bases of petioles (*Vide* Barrau 1965). These cuttings[1] are taken to a new garden being established, usually, at some distance from the old one. When the husband heard his wife saying this, he understood at once that she had been hiding the offspring she said she had thrown into the 'water'. He could not know, however, that his wife had had twins and this became his undoing.)

6. The two children, all by themselves, made a garden, ate their food and kept alive. The man went to where the two children were staying. The female sibling (*du ate*) had gone to collect taro while the male sibling (*du bite*) was lying asleep with his chest turned upwards in the shelter (*gaga*). It was there that the man found him, understood at once he was his child and cut out his heart and intestines. He ate these, leaving the rest of the body behind for the next day.

(*Commentary*: I do not know whether the narrator of the myth made a mistake when he said at the beginning that the hidden children were 'male twins'. There is no doubt whatever that at the stage the story has now reached they are siblings of opposite sex. While we cannot rule out the possibility of a narrator's mistake, my informant was an unusually reliable one and it is quite possible that there was an actual change of sex. This will become clearer later when we analyze the significance of male and female roles in this tale. The horticultural reference in this passage is to ordinary harvesting routine. The woman digs the taro and places them in a *gaga* or shelter where they stay until

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824 she takes them home. The brother is clearly identified with taro growing in the
773 field.)
244 7. The story tells in more detail than is relevant here how the sister learned
539 what had happened, how a magician from Managalasi brought the brother back to life by giving him the heart and intestines of a wallaby, how this man married the sister and how the young man killed his father when the latter returned to complete his meal. He cut his father into many pieces which were shared out among men whose descendants became the various population groups in the Northern District, as discussed in Chapter III.

The myth takes us through two complete cultivation cycles from the planting of the *bere*, the covering over with weeds to protect them from the sun, the gradual growth of the plants under the care of the woman, to the shifting of a new *bere* to a new garden, and finally the growing of these new *bere* to maturity. I was given no explanation as to why the myth contains two cultivation cycles rather than one, but it becomes clearer if we regard the myth, on the horticultural level, as symbolising the domestication of what was at one time a wild plant. At this level, the myth starts with the finding of wild taro and the transplanting of the *bere* of that taro to a garden clearing. When these *bere* grow to maturity, new *bere* are taken from them and these in turn are transplanted. The products of this second planting are regarded as properly domesticated taro.

One may well wonder why the second cultivation cycle was introduced into the myth at all. Direct inquiry did not produce wholly satisfactory answers.
[262] People no longer eat taro that grows in the bush, I was told, because it does not taste sweet, it is small, it hurts the mouth. Nobody transplants wild taro *bere* to cultivated gardens nowadays; this was done only in the times of the ancestors. Informants' attitudes to this question were often of this kind when we were
[715] discussing the jungle. It was above all a place where the ghosts (*sowai*) lived and therefore dangerous. Wild pigs, especially, often harbour ghosts. If plants or animals are domesticated, it is the dispelling of ghostly essences that is the objective of the practices followed. I shall show this in more detail when discussing the domestication of pigs. Taking into account this fear and suspicion of the bush, it is understandable that a seed taken from the bush is not regarded as domesticated just because it has grown to maturity in a garden. A plant grown from a bush seed is regarded as still being contaminated by *sowai* influence. It is only the second harvest that can be regarded as wholly belonging to the domesticated domain.

[715] We have already met the same idea when discussing the taboo on taro-growing
[784] on a dead man's land. This taro is effectively contaminated in the same way as bush taro. It is not eaten by those whom it endangers. The next crop planted is still dangerous, and it is only the second planting after the previous owner's death that is free from taboo.

This discussion has already developed one of the main themes of the myth, namely the opposition between bush and garden, the wild and the sown, the dwelling place of spirits and the cultivated domain from which they are carefully banished. If we now turn to the message transmitted by the myth at the social level, we find a similar opposition, namely that between Totoima and his wife. Totoima who kills his own children, using his tusks as he does so, has partly a pig

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nature, partly a human nature, and these aspects are only partly differentiated. He ravages taro lying in the *guga* in the manner of a wild pig. The wild taro *bere* planted by the woman in the beginning of the myth are fitly equated with his 'children' because Totoima's realm is the bush; bush taro are the children he might be expected to engender. The garden, however, is his wife's realm. It is she who nurses taro to maturity and who nurtures her family. She too has a dual nature, as she nurtures Totoima and also conspires to kill him. This second aspect is found in numerous myths concerning Totoima's wife. In the present version not only the wife but also the daughter is involved in conspiracy.

The taro are her children, and it is right that Totoima should eat them. She feeds them to him. However, she places restrictions on Totoima's appetite. The *bere* of the domestic taro must be preserved for planting. Hence it is the woman's duty to withhold these from her husband. Woman's two aspects – nurture and domestication – are crucial in the ritual statements made through gifts of taro.

Here we encounter again the dichotomy in sex roles to which I referred in the previous chapter. The male tends to be concerned with the killing of enemies and wild animals, the driving out of ghosts, the felling of bush before a garden can be made. On the other hand, the female is identified with the cultivation of taro. The *dema* of the taro are regularly called upon in drum songs performed at harvest time:

Bako jape teijo jape bako
Punduga kovari terijo jape bako, etc.

'Taro-being, ancestress, come to our aid, ancestress, taro-being; with the *punduga* harvesting help us, ancestress, taro-being', etc., where *punduga* is a variety of taro and the song continues with lines similar to the second one, invoking a great number of taro varieties, one after the other.

Taro, clearly, is a feminine plant. The first taro plant is found by a married woman in several myths I have recorded, though in others it was found by a brother and sister travelling together. One may well ask why it is, if taro is a feminine plant, that in this myth (and in others) we find its origin associated with two siblings of opposite sex (*du*), and why in particular it was the male sibling who was lying in the *guga* while the female one was in the field. Those who like to impute laziness to the Orokaiva male may say that this scene is only too typical, but one cannot seriously believe this myth to indulge in caricature. In my explanation I shall anticipate an argument developed at greater length in Chapter VIII. It is a male sex role to clear a garden and give it to a woman; it is a female sex role to grow taro and give it to a man. These gifts are complementary and mediate the relationship between man and woman. The Orokaiva will classify a garden as a feminine thing 'because it is given to the woman' and a harvested taro as a masculine thing 'because it is given to the man'. This is why the taro lying in the *guga* was a male sibling.

Evidence presented in the course of this chapter will show that Orokaiva regard taro as having a dual nature: while in the earth, they are identified with the woman who nurtures them and who regards them and nurses them as her children. When harvested they are victims to be killed, cut up and cooked and finally eaten. In this role of victims they are male, because the male is the killer

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and the male is also the most illustrious victim of the killer – the victim whose name and spirit is adopted by the killer. This theme, widely reported among headhunters, is strongly emphasised in Orokaiva culture, as Williams recognised. In the myth discussed here, and in several others, these complementary male and female aspects of the taro are indicated by the presence of a pair of *dema*, probably always siblings of opposite sex, and clearly marked as such in the present myth.

In addition to father, mother and twins, the myth contains a fifth character, the man from Managalasi, whose peculiarly male role is the hunting of animals. The marriage between him and Totoima's daughter lays down the Orokaiva principle that taro is a female product given to a man whereas meat is a male product given to a woman. In a number of myths I collected on the origin of marriage, that institution is set up by the male hero's action of bringing home meat to a woman instead of eating it in the bush, as was customary before marriage existed.

If female nature, in its pure state, is found in the taro garden and male nature, in its pure state, in the jungle, then it follows that human beings, being born of a man and a woman, have a mixed nature. In Totoima this dual nature is imperfectly developed (for he eats taro in the manner of a wild pig); similarly it is, at first, imperfectly developed in his son who does not hunt and has a purely taro nature. It is only when the man from Managalase has replaced the son's taro entrails with animal entrails that the latter has the power to defeat his father. He is then superior to his father because he has a fully human nature which is symbolised for instance by his manner of killing, with a club rather than the teeth (tusks), as did Totoima.

The analysis of this myth has enabled us to understand more precisely the sense in which it may be said that taro is, as Sahlins put it, symbolic of 'mother'. The Orokaiva do speak of taro as 'our mother' and the ideas they have in mind when they do so have been explained above. Taro is two things: it is a gift from a woman to her husband, and it is the offspring of the woman's womb inasmuch as she is identified with the taro goddess. The woman gives most of the taro-children she collects in the garden to her husband and others of her household, but she may extend this munificence by giving taro to others, i.e. by acting towards others as a quasi-wife or as though they were part of her household. Gifts of taro always have this intimate and deeply personal character as though the receiver was made part of the donor's household. The woman bears herself proudly, being pleased at having grown and cooked the food well; her attitude is formal and ceremonious, thus emphasising the importance of the gift and her respect for the recipient; at the same time she shows a certain solicitude, as though the recipient must be very hungry and very much in need of this meal.

3. *Taro as Mediator of Social Relations*

Gifts of taro may mediate either the establishment or perpetuation of a social relationship. But the ritual context of the gifts differs considerably. By far the most frequent type are gifts which maintain relationships; these are made by every Sivepe household every day. In the twenty-eight days for which I took

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lies neither in communion nor in expiation, as they are essentially magical devices to bring about a transformation in social relations with a partner.[1]

While this partner may on occasion be a close kinsman who is given a feast for some special reason, he often has a rather distant position in the exchange network of the donor, with whom commensality occurs only on rare occasions. Not only do feasts tend to extend in this way the range of individual social networks but they are especially apt to extend the range of social relations existing between villages. Feasts are often given by one village to another, thus leading to the establishment of at least one partnership between each household of the host village and each household of the guest village.

The explanation of pig sacrifices requires an elaboration of my model of exchange. The models used so far may be called *transactional*. One may distinguish between positive transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange benefits mediated by gifts) and negative transactional cycles (in which the two sides exchange sanctions mediated by penalties). In addition one may construct *temporal* cycles, which may show the alternation between friendship and anger, offence and repentance, mortification and forgiveness. A violation of the exchange code will shift a relationship from a positive into a negative transactional cycle, while a reconciliation feast will restore positive reciprocity. The value of pig sacrifices lies in their power to set a relationship upon a course of positive exchanges where, previous to the sacrifice, the two sides were engaged in a mutually injurious exchange of sanctions.

This implies an assumption about the nature of social relations: namely that they cannot be described as intrinsically positive or negative. One cannot divide the Orokaiva social universe into concentric circles distinguishing between permanently friendly and permanently hostile groups. The most one may do (if one has data over a sufficient period) is to show that in the association between villages A and B the cycles of negative reciprocity have been relatively short while between villages A and C they have been relatively long. In this sense one may call B a 'friendly' and C a 'hostile' village, and it may be expected that inter-village feasts, in which pig sacrifices figure, will be more frequent between A and B than between A and C.

This conceptualisation is not based on my own private theory of sociality, but on the Orokaiva expressed belief that strife is a 'natural', i.e. *divine* established consequence of social relations. This belief implies that any relationship will tend to alternate between positive and negative cycles, primary kin relationships not excepted. In *original time*, we find only positive cycles of reciprocity; strife periodically engenders negative cycles, while pig sacrifices lead to the periodic restoration of positive reciprocity.

2. *The Wild Pig: Marauder*

To the Orokaiva the wild pig is above all a troublesome enemy, as it attacks taro crops in gardens and is liable to kill an unwary hunter. It lives in the jungle where it is believed that ghosts (*sovai*) may enter its body. A pig inhabited by a *sovai* is especially dangerous and harmful to man. The ontology of the pig is explained in a series of myths of which the following, recorded by Williams, states its message most clearly:

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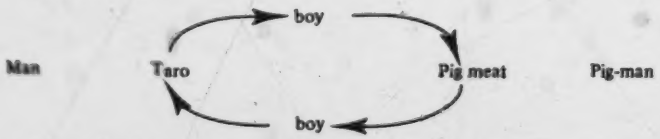
A man and a pig (apparently a pig in form but really a man) were up a tree together after fruit . . . the man gave the pig a push and he fell down . . . helpless. Another man came along with a dog . . . the Man-pig cried, 'Hold your dog or he may bite me.' He then asked this new man to build him a house . . . this done he asked for food . . . and an arrangement was reached by which this man always sent taro, etc. from the village to the Pig-man's house . . . and in return received a brought real pig. But the man grew lazy, and once sent his son with the taro. This so annoyed the pig that he tried to kill the boy . . . but he made his escape back to the village . . . After this the Pig-man thought the villagers would want to kill him . . . so he took to the bush (Notebooks 1923, W. 56).

This myth is concerned with the question why man and pig are differentiated species with separate assigned domains.[2] The pig-man of the myth (like Totoima discussed in an earlier chapter) is clearly neither fully man nor fully pig, but has an intermediate position. The assumption appears to be that in primeval time the present discontinuity between the species man and pig did not yet exist. The myth describes how this discontinuity came about and distinguishes two stages. At the outset there was no differentiation at all, a state symbolised in the myth by the image of pigs being able to climb trees. But even then they were less capable of arboreal life than man; man pushed the pig from the tree, thus inaugurating the first state of differentiation. An exchange relationship was now established whereby each partner offered the other the products of his own capacities. But there was an asymmetry in this relationship, as man offered a house and taro, whereas pig was able to offer only his own offspring. This state of equilibrium may be expressed by the following diagram:

MODEL 21



Except for the friendly intervention of the boy, this diagram represents the pattern of exchange that persists to the present day, as wild pigs take man's taro and man takes the pigs from the bush. But man defaulted in this exchange, omitting to send taro. Man thus set in motion the usual process of breaking a relationship. He sent the boy but the response of his neglect was not pig meat; it was anger and an attempt to kill the boy. The boy now ceased to visit pig-man: the social relationship between man and pig-man ceased and thus pig-man, bereft of social relationship, ceased to be 'man' at all but became fully pig. From that time on pig (no longer pig-man) kept to the bush and the exchange between man and pig was no longer friendly but hostile. Pig still takes man's taro but it is no longer given to him; he steals it from the gardens. Similarly, man still takes pigs, but he hunts for them in the bush.

[792] The separation of man and pig leads immediately to the division of the world

into two separate realms: the human world, comprising villages and gardens, and the wild world, *ariri*, the bush, where everything is dangerous and inimical to man, and where the ghosts (*sovai*) have their abode. The area friendly to man is thus reduced to a small space, whereas the area hostile to man is an infinite expanse. Thus man is forever at strife with all but a small circumscribed portion of the universe. The myth of pig-man restates in another idiom the message of the primal theft of the piece of string.

3. *Domestication of Pigs: Husbandry*

Separate though the worlds of bush and human habitation may be, Orokaiva still view them as linked by an exchange relationship. One side of this transaction has already been described in detail by Williams (1930:267ff.). A man becomes a *sovai* at death. As such he enters into various animals. An important class of *sovai* (though not all *sovai*) can be recognised by the abnormal appearance or behaviour of the animals into which they have entered. They are greatly feared and are thought responsible for a great variety of misfortunes. Thus if a man fears the supernatural dangers of the bush, he does not regard these as generated by anything inherent in nature, but as introduced by dead hunters and killers who retain their human wilfulness while deprived of human bonds.

In certain special circumstances bush creatures may re-enter the protected confines of human society. The most important example of such a reverse transaction between bush and village is furnished by the domestication of pigs. There is, of course, no zoological difference between wild and domestic pigs, both being scientifically known as *sus papuensis* and known in the vernacular as *o ohu*. The myths explaining the domestication of pigs are all very simple. In one of them the first pig ever killed by man was a sow marauding the taro gardens. After killing her, men heard a mournful song by the root of a tree. It was sung by her piglets who were thirsting for their mother's milk. The piglets were taken to the village and became the first domestic pigs. The piglets' song, of course, is still known.

The breed has continued until today, being constantly replenished by foundlings from the bush. As boars are castrated, sows mate in the bush. In the bush around Sivepe some wild boars must still exist, though these are probably the offspring of tame sows who have escaped to the bush.

The domestication of piglets is a complicated task which I once saw performed at Inonda. When a piglet was found in the bush it was given for rearing to an old woman who was an expert at domestication. She made a medicine by chewing together betelnut, *hingi* (a peppery leaf) and *arifa* root (in Sivepe *akore* root would have been used). She spat this medicine into all body apertures: mouth, eyes, ears, nose, rectum, genitals. A few hours later she carried the piglet to a creek, washed it and placed it in a string bag (*eti*) in the same way as a baby. Five days afterwards, the piglet could be seen walking through the village on a leash, held by its 'mother'. After two or three weeks, it was regarded as domesticated.

The medicine was intended to seal the piglet from *sovai* who might otherwise enter it. As a bush animal, the piglet was considered impure, dangerous, and liable to spirit entry. The Orokaiva believe that it is *sovai* contamination which

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because of the dangers he fears from contact with the female. By offering betelnut, woman overcomes this reluctance in man and draws him into the sexual exchange she desires.

5. *The Myth of Coconut and Betelnut*

Though we have now summarised the exchange cycles mediated by coconut and betelnut, we have not shown why these objects of mediation are considered to be efficacious in exchange. In past chapters we have explained efficacity in terms of indigenous philosophy. Indigenous logic generally relies on a myth in which a specific precept is either explicitly stated or implied. By giving this precept the status of an axiom, we can show by logical deduction that a thing (land, taro, pig, etc.) can have potency as an object of mediation in certain transactions.[2]

This kind of explanation of mediation draws on mythical sources much in the same way as Malinowski. Malinowski held that the 'function' of a myth is the charter it provides for customary rules. I can see no objection to this approach as long as we can be sure, from independent evidence, that charter and custom really coincide, which is not always the case, and as long as we check carefully how informants perform the logical deduction. If charter and custom do not coincide, we need to go beyond Malinowski's techniques of myth analysis and seek out the message by decoding the symbolic language of the myth. The betelnut myth already quoted provides an instance of discrepancy between myth and custom.[3] According to the myth it is the man who gives betelnut to the woman, whereas we know that in girls' initiation ritual and in courting custom, i.e. in the most structured betelnut presentations, the *woman* plays the role of donor and the plant is classified as feminine.

Such a discrepancy might easily be dismissed as too trivial for investigation but for the fact that it seems to be related to the disagreement between Mauss and Lévi-Strauss to which I referred earlier in this chapter. Mauss' theory of the gift would not easily explain this type of reversal, which would serve as a useful corroboration of Lévi-Strauss' contention that the 'contradiction' in the donor-recipient relationship may be illusory. I am not suggesting that his theory can be proved by empirical evidence, but only that it can be corroborated if we find evidence that Orokaiva informants do not treat exchange as purely magical, but recognise its synthetic character in their reasoning about myth, ritual and rules of behaviour.

The beginning of the myth to be discussed here is well-known; I was told it several times and Williams also recorded it (1928: 122). Here follows a summary of a version I collected on tape in the Orokaiva language: A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, has the misfortune to kill all the young men with whom she sleeps. Her breasts prick and kill them. She warns them to sleep against her back but they never follow this advice. The girl's brother becomes concerned and tells her that he personally will choose her next sleeping partner. He chooses his own *dambo*, i.e. his wife's brother. He tells his *dambo*:

> Because mistakes were made other bachelors have died, but, my *dambo*, my true *dambo*, she is going to sleep; she is going up to bed. Therefore see that all is properly prepared and the bed is properly made for sleeping.

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773 824 539 But this handsome young man, also, is pierced by the girl's breasts and killed. The brother buries his brother-in-law, then kills his sister and buries her beside the other grave.

After a mourning period the brother takes his wife to the two graves. They find a cocopalm in full bearing above the sister's grave. An *areca* palm has grown over the grave of the young man. Heaps of dry nuts are lying on the ground. That is how these two palms originated. He says:

> Wife, as we come close, we see coconut and *areca* growing where only grass grew before. Dry coconuts have fallen and are rotting away; dry *areca* nuts are growing shoots. It can be seen from my sister's grave that she was a creature of misfortune (*embavo*) and that the bachelors' deaths were her doing.
>
> The coconuts growing in the grave must stay there and the *areca* growing on *dambo's* grave must likewise stay. See to it.

The hero opens a dry coconut, then a budding coconut. Though he declares that he will die if he eats these nuts, his wife desires them, they are so delicious. He feeds them to the dog, expecting it to die, but it does not. He then declares:

> Wife, cocopalms are growing in my sister's grave, but the flower clusters on the stem have pointed sheaths (*peperuma*) which puncture the skin and make men die. It is always said that people die when that happens. The mass of sheaths will strike men with the sleep of death; when the sheaths have struck, men will die utterly. That was the cause of the girl's death. When I came here and saw coconut growing out of her grave and dry nuts fallen on the ground, I began to understand that my sister had killed the men I had carried to their graves and buried. . . .
>
> When a man has collected *areca*, he gives it back to a girl. When that girl has helped to fetch coconut, she in turn gives it to the man. It therefore belongs to the man. This being so, the coconut is a man but the *areca* is a girl; for this reason, girls give *areca*.

773 824 539 582 On the level of social structure, this myth is concerned with the Orokaiva institution of sister exchange marriage. Though such arrangements were not very frequent among the Orokaiva (I would estimate about 5 per cent of all marriages), sister exchange marriages are strongly idealised, as I have shown elsewhere. In this myth, a man arranges such an exchange marriage for his sister because he evidently believes it provides more protection against magical dangers than any other. When this ends in disaster, the brother feels entitled to assume there is no bachelor with whom his sister can sleep safely, as he explains in a passage not quoted here. He therefore kills her, but right through the story his *dambo* (wife's brother) continues to be regarded as husband of his sister. It is for him, rather than for any other man she has slept with and killed, that she grows coconuts. In fact it is the bond of love between the dead couple which gives the whole tale its meaning. The closeness of this bond is not explained psychologically by personal sentiments existing between the lovers, but structurally, by sister exchange marriage.

773 824 539 On the level of social exchange, the myth depends largely on rather complex and condensed ideological statements made by the hero. I have translated the

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crucial passages verbatim. In the full text, the brother comes back four or five times to the miracle that chiefly concerns him: the symbiosis of coconut and areca, dropping their fruits side by side and thus (as he implies rather than states) fertilising one another. Taking this symbiosis as a fact of nature, the hero uses it to explain several other mysterious facts: (*a*) why all the bachelors died; (*b*) the ritual uses of coconut and *areca*; (*c*) why the Orokaiva consider coconut masculine, *areca* feminine. To answer the first question, he refers to an easily verified fact: the *peperuma* of the coconut do look like a girl's breasts; they are very dangerous if one falls upon them with any force. His sister was clearly an *embavo*, a coconut spirit. In this way the deaths are, to Orokaiva thought, adequately accounted for.

The hero explains two types of ritual uses of coconut and *areca*, namely those related to mortuary feasts and those where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The instruction that nobody should eat the nuts lying under the trees, on pain of death, constitutes a mythological charter for the taboo placed upon the cocopalms and *areca* palms owned by a person recently dead. An informant explained a further implication to me, which is not very clear from the version I quoted: namely that it is customary to place coconuts and *areca* nuts upon the grave of a dead affine. Thus it was the duty of the hero to place coconuts and *areca* nuts upon the grave of his brother-in-law; and the duty of his wife to do the same for the grave of her sister-in-law. In order to clarify these points, the myth tells of the wife's desire to eat the nuts and the hero's refusal to let her have them.

In a somewhat elliptical manner, the hero lists or implies three sets of rules concerning gifts of coconut and *areca*, where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The sets are:

	Areca		*Coconut*
1(*a*)	The man fetches the nuts from the tree.	1(*b*)	The woman *helps to fetch* the nuts from the tree.
2(*a*)	The man gives the nuts to the woman.	2(*b*)	The woman cooks the nuts for the man.
3(*a*)	The girl offers nuts to her lover and carries an offering of nuts at initiation.	3(*b*)	At a girl's initiation, a man prepares coconut oil which is used as a ritual cosmetic.

The first opposition is made quite explicit in the hero's speech, but is not free from casuistry. Men usually fetch not only *areca* but also coconuts from the high palms on which they grow. The woman may help by collecting coconuts once they have dropped to the ground, and by carrying them home. Very often, however, the coconuts are carried by men, who tie two nuts to a stalk, thus creating a huge effigy of a phallus. The feeble empirical basis of this opposition only serves to emphasise that we are here being taught an ideology which requires the opposition.

The hero's second opposition centres on the culinary use made of the nuts. *Areca*, in opposition to coconut, has no place in the kitchen. The fact that coconut is also often eaten raw would weaken the opposition, but this is

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773 824 539 suppressed. The third opposition is in fact the strongest, but it is stated in a rather elliptical manner. We are told that, in ritual, girls give *areca* to men, but the opposite statement is omitted, viz. that in the same initiatory context *men* (but never women) pour coconut oil over girls.

In the narrator's mind all these oppositions are probably subordinate to a philosophical question: why the Orokaiva consider coconut masculine, *areca* feminine. Numerous informants have confirmed this classification in conversations with me. In this story, however, it is not presented as a 'fact', but is deduced in a logical manner. The words used make it clear that we have to do with a logical deduction:

> *Ainge* embo amina ainge ena. Embo amina *ainge eto*, erevi u ra embo erevi u ra; te sa erevi meni kakara ra; – *ainge eto* ikena.

This passage, (translated above, p. 17) contains the notion of logical entailment three times: *because* the girl gives coconut to the man, it *therefore* belongs to the man. *Because* coconut belongs to a man, *therefore* coconut is masculine. *Because areca* is a girl, girls give *areca*. The problem, for those who do not know Orokaiva culture, is that every one of the conclusions appears to lack logical force. Furthermore, it will be noticed that, from a formal viewpoint, the narrator's argument proceeds quite differently for men and for girls. This difference also needs explanation.

When I heard this tale, I could not help arguing with my informant. I said: if the coconut grew out of the girl's grave and she later gave the coconut to a man, would it not follow then that the coconut is feminine? My informant received this argument with a tinge of pity. It proved to him, if any proof were needed, that white men are indeed quite incapable of abstract reasoning. It took him some time to understand what problem I could possibly be having. Finally he said: 'The girl intended these coconuts as gifts for a man; therefore, they must be masculine.' At that point I remembered I had heard this argument somewhere before: in Levi-Strauss' introduction to Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie*. If we produce something that is *intended to be given away*, it was called into being by a prior relationship between donor and recipient, and could not be utilised by the former without losing its predetermined nature.

We find the same line of thought elsewhere in Orokaiva culture: pigs cannot be eaten by those who reared them because they are, from the beginning, set apart as gift objects. The most striking and intimate instance may be found in a myth of a woman who has a detachable vagina. She pretends to her husband she has lost it: 'I dropped your vagina in the water.' The husband looks for it between the stones of the river: 'I am looking for my vagina.'

In all these cases the gift object partakes of the nature of the recipient. However, the narrator appears to follow a quite different line of reasoning when he says. 'Because *areca* is a girl, girls give *areca*.' There is an apparent contradiction here, resolved only when we recognise that two different types of gift must be distinguished – perhaps we are allowed to call them metaphoric and metonymic. If we call a coconut a man or a man a coconut, we are using a metaphor. Furthermore, if we proceed to call an *areca* 'a girl', we are setting up a metaphoric opposition (coconut/*areca*) which corresponds to the real opposition (man/woman). When Sperber (1968) speaks of 'code structures', he is

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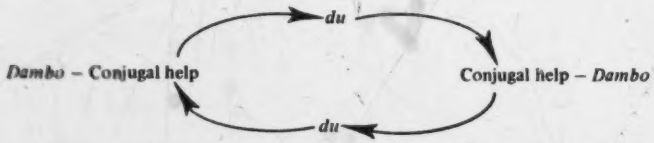
principally referring to classificatory systems built up from such metaphoric oppositions. When I use the term 'metaphoric gift', I mean a gift about which we are told in a story, the message of the story being that gift and recipient are metaphorically identical. The point of the story is to establish the symbiosis of men and women, the use of the metaphor. An example of such a story would be the gift of sacred emblems to the infant Dionysus in Orphic myth. This story tells us how Dionysus received certain gifts (cone, bullroarer, golden apples, mirror, knuckle-bone, tuft of wool) which de ined his nature. In the same way, in Orokaiva myth, men are given a coconut nature and women an areca nature.

Orokaiva informants offer what they regard as empirical evidence for this. Coconut may be recognised as a man because the palm germinates slowly and the fruit comes to maturity slowly ('it comes slowly'). Likewise, so I was told, the male is slow to be sexually aroused and to desire women. *Areca* may be recognised as a girl because it germinates and comes to maturity quickly – the fruit matures faster than the coconut. Likewise woman is quick to be sexually aroused and to feel desire for a man. In this analogy the botanical facts are evident but the psychological generalisations describe no more, perhaps, than Orokaiva role expectations.

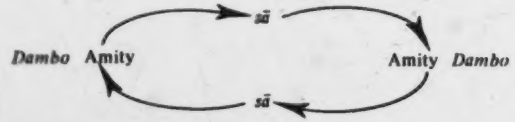
We may clarify the myth and its philosophical message to a certain extent by an analysis on the level of exchange cycles. The fundamental cycle is obviously the following:

MODEL 29



This is the model of sister exchange marriage where two men become brothers-in-law by each giving their sisters (*du*) to the other in marriage. If we now remember the identification between woman and betelnut (*sā*), and the social relationship which is considered normal between *dambo*, we may substitute as follows:

MODEL 30



We thus derive the rather interesting conclusion that the sense of an exchange of betelnut between men is that they are symbolically exchanging sisters. This is a rather bold conclusion which is best left as a speculation to be explored in later

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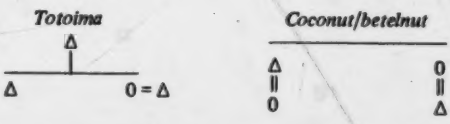
enquiries. The same applies to a second conclusion that may be derived from the myth: that a man who gives a visitor coconut to drink is symbolically giving his own sexuality.

6. *Analysis of the Myth*[4]

As these implications of the model may arouse scepticism, a more analytical study of the myth seems desirable. One procedure which may lead to clarification is to compare the coconut/betelnut myth with the myth of Totoima discussed in previous chapters. The structural homology between the two myths is obvious enough. In the Totoima myth a *man wittingly* killed and *ate* a *son*, was transformed into *pig meat*, and distributed to mankind. He *did not intend* to make any gifts nor were any intended for him. In the coconut myth a *woman unwittingly* killed but *did not eat* a *spouse*, was transformed into *coconut*, distributed to mankind. She *intended* to make a gift and a return gift was intended for her.

We may isolate three distinctive features. On the ecological level we find an opposition between two types of symbiosis. The Totoima myth shows a predatory cycle: pig eats taro; man eats pig; thus strengthened, man causes more taro to grow. The coconut/betelnut myth shows the association of two plants always growing together, such that the presence of the one may be thought to stimulate the growth of the other. On the social level we find an opposition between the kin relationships holding between the principal participants. They may be represented as follows:



In the Totoima myth, the critical transaction was between the senior and junior generation, while in the coconut/betelnut myth it was between the male and female characters. Psychologically, the opposition was that in the Totoima myth the protagonists were motivated to kill and eat each other, while in the coconut/betelnut myth they were motivated by sexual love.

Both myths are concerned with exchange, viewed ecologically, socially and psychologically, but in the first myth exchange is diachronic, whereas in the second it is contemporaneous. Where exchange is diachronic, B cannot reach the fullness of prosperity without the death of A, a process symbolised ecologically by predation, on the social level by intergenerational competition and on the psychological level by the desire to kill the father. Where exchange is contemporaneous, B cannot reach the fullness of prosperity without the simultaneous prosperity of A, a process symbolised ecologically by plant associations, socially by the marriage relationship and psychologically by conjugal love.

Diachronic exchange is, on the ecological level, a familiar and empirically verifiable fact. On the social level, however, the competitive and negative aspect

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of the father-son relationship is suppressed by consciousness, among the Orokaiva as among ourselves, and is revealed only in dreams, myths and other messages from the unconscious. In contrast, synchronic exchange – as the love between spouses, the amity between affines – is overtly recognised and empirically verifiable on the social level. It is, however, purely imaginary on the ecological level, as plant associations, such as that of coconut and betelnut, *oga* and *eumba*, *puga* and *hoe*, yam and *hamesi*, are not necessarily found in nature but are generally brought about by man for magico-religious reasons. When man establishes these plant associations he is recreating on the ecological level the symbolic equivalents of the social relations on which his prosperity depends.

These social relations are, as we have seen, of two types. In sexual love we find the mystical and irrevocable unity of opposites where objects of mediation become, in the last analysis, irrelevant. But in other social exchanges we find a necessity for objects of mediation establishing a link between self and other. This relationship is exemplified in its purest form in model 29, the model of sister exchange, where a relationship between *dambo* is mediated by an exchange of sisters. But in models 28 and 30 we find important variants, where betelnut and coconut are substituted to mediate the exchange. Precisely because neither of these two products is of any great economic value, they are appropriate for serving as tokens of exchange, a signal of the potential existence of exchange, between any partners, though in the myth and in mortuary ritual this exchange takes place between the prototype-partners of the Orokaiva, the *dambo*. The rather bold suggestion I made at the end of the previous section therefore corresponds to a hidden reality, namely that gifts of coconut and betelnut are symbolic of sexual exchange. It is significant, in this regard, that sisters-in-law address each other by the term *bi*, which means penis.

REFERENCES

1 I am referring here to Radcliffe-Brown's discussion on Yin and Yang as an example of complementary opposition (1951) and to Lévi-Strauss' adoption of this example to present his theory concerning the real nature of totemism (Lévi-Strauss 1962T). Coconut and betelnut, in the myth discussed in the present chapter, may be seen as a further example of the same principle.

2 This type of logic, first developed by Gentzen in 1934, was adopted afterwards by Popper and has been shown to be the basis of primitive systems of thought (Jarvie 1964). It requires no investigation into the truth value of axioms. Gentzen called it 'natural deduction'.

3 Though Malinowski held (1926M) that 'myth serves principally to establish a sociological charter, or a retrospective moral pattern of behaviour, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic', he knew very well that the charter is occasionally 'flagrantly violated' by the actual norms of a society. He also recognised that where we find a fully institutionalised violation of a mythical charter, we should seek an explanation for the discrepancy. Malinowski even took initial steps towards such explanation: 'This violation always takes place when the local claims of an autochthonous clan . . . are overriden by an immigrant clan. Then a conflict of principles is created . . . ' (1926M; reprinted 1954: 117)

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121 A very similar point was made by Lévi-Strauss in 'Legeste d'Asdiwal'. After pointing out that the institutions described in myths can be the very opposite of real institutions, he argues that any such discrepancy 'implies an admission that the social facts are marred by an insurmountable contradiction'. By investigating such contradictions, we may find means of 'reaching unconscious categories' (1961: 1110–1). This is precisely the strategy I have adopted in the present chapter.

539 773 4 I have followed a method demonstrated by Lévi-Strauss in *Le cru et le cuit* (1964). I have shown that the two myths discussed in this section are isomorphous; I have isolated their distinctive features and posited that they are interrelated. I found that in each myth three levels (botanical, social, physiological) were superimposed and that each level transmitted the same message. Between the two myths, there was an inversion of the codes and the message (1964: 205, 250–2).

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the dead person. At ordinary harvest feasts and bride-wealth payments they are seen on display platforms along with taro and other vegetables. They are then subsidiary to taro and pigs, which are the main food gifts, but at mortuary feasts vast quantities are given, saved from the dead man's palms, which are made taboo until this feast. Dry coconut and areca are strewn on graves by affines of the deceased.

The distinctive features perceived by Orokaiva in each species should also be summarized. Coconut is believed to be a valuable adjunct to the diet of children and dogs (also chickens). In Orokaiva myths, its miraculous effect on children and dogs is often described. To the scientific observer this effect is natural enough as coconut is an important source of first-class protein for both children and dogs, who otherwise do not get much first-class protein. Coconut oil is used as a cosmetic for hair and body not only to enhance beauty but also for its magical efficacy, for the purification of man-slayers (Williams, 1930: 175, 207), and for women who are being initiated or who welcome visitors at dances. In all such cases it is the task of a male to pour the coconut milk over the persons whose magical protection is intended.

Areca, a mildly hallucinogenic fruit, is chewed by women as much as by men. When friends are sitting together, it is shared in much the same way as beer among white Australians. People offer nuts to each other but expect to come out approximately even. Visitors from other villages expect to be offered areca by their hosts. Its main physiological effect is to create a dreamy amiability and to break down hostility that might otherwise exist. Its magical uses, mostly in association with some medicine of more specific purpose, are too many to enumerate. A girl carries a bunch of areca at the ceremony which ends her seclusion after first menstruation. She normally offers it to her man at lovers' meetings.

Although I have a number of coconut and areca myths on record, I shall discuss here only one, the fullest one, which illustrates my argument most clearly. A beautiful girl, noted for her remarkable breasts, had the misfortune of killing all the young men with whom she slept. Her breasts pricked and killed them.

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She warned them to sleep against her back but they would never follow this advice. The girl's brother became concerned and told her he would personally choose her next sleeping partner. He chose his own *dambo,* i.e., his wife's brother. He told his *dambo:* "Because mistakes were made other bachelors have died, but my *dambo,* my true *dambo,* she is going to sleep, she is going to bed. Therefore see that all is properly prepared and that the bed is properly made for sleeping." But this handsome young man also was pierced by the girl's breasts and killed. The brother buried his brother-in-law, then killed his sister and buried her beside the other grave.

After a mourning period the brother took his wife to the two graves. They found a coco palm in full bearing above the sister's grave. An areca palm had grown over the grave of the young man. Heaps of dry nuts were lying on the ground. That is how these two palms originated. He said:

> Wife, as we come close, we see coconut and areca growing where only grass grew before. Dry coconuts have fallen and are rotting away; dry areca nuts are growing shoots. It can be seen from my sister's grave that she was a creature of misfortune [*embavo*] and that the bachelors' deaths were her doing.
>
> The coconuts growing in the grave must stay there and the areca growing on *dambo*'s grave must likewise stay. See to it.

The hero opens a dry coconut, then a budding coconut. Though he declares that he will die if he eats these nuts, his wife desires them; they are so delicious. He feeds them to the dog, expecting it to die, but it does not. He then declares:

> Wife, coco palms are growing in my sister's grave, but the flower clusters on the stem have pointed sheaths [*peperuma*] which puncture the skin and make men die. It is always said that people die when that happens. The mass of sheaths will strike men with the sleep of death; when the sheaths have struck, men will die utterly. That was the cause of the girl's death. When I came here and saw coconut growing out of her grave and dry nuts fallen on the ground, I

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began to understand that my sister had killed the men I had carried to their graves and buried. . . .

When a man has collected areca, he gives it back to a girl. When that girl has helped to fetch coconut, she in turn gives it to the man. It therefore belongs to the man. This being so, the coconut is a man but the areca a girl: for this reason, girls give areca.

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On the level of social structure, this myth is concerned with the Orokaiva institution of sister-exchange marriage. Though such arrangements were not very frequent among the Orokaiva (I would estimate about 5% of all marriages), sister-exchange marriages are strongly idealized as I have shown elsewhere (Schwimmer, 1970). In this myth a man arranges such an exchange marriage for his sister because he evidently believes it provides more protection against magical dangers than any other. When this ends in disaster, the brother feels entitled to assume there is no bachelor with whom his sister can safely sleep, as he explains in a passage not quoted here. He therefore kills her, but right through the story his *dambo* (wife's brother) continues to be regarded as husband of his sister. It is for him, rather than for any other man she has slept with and killed, that she grows coconuts. In fact it is the bond of love between the dead couple which gives the whole tale its meaning. The closeness of this bond is not explained psychologically by personal sentiments existing between the lovers, but structurally, by sister-exchange marriage.

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On the level of social exchange the myth depends largely on rather complex and condensed ideological statements made by the hero. I have translated the crucial passages verbatim. In the full text, the brother comes back four or five times to the miracle that chiefly concerns him: the symbiosis of coconut and areca, dropping their fruits side by side and thus (as he implies rather than states) fertilizing one another. Taking this symbiosis as a fact of nature, the hero uses it to explain several other mysterious facts: (*a*) why all the bachelors died; (*b*) the ritual uses of coconut and areca; (*c*) why the Orokaiva consider the coconut masculine, areca feminine. To answer the first question, he refers to an easily verified fact: the *peperuma* of the coconut

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do look like a girl's breasts; they are very dangerous if one falls upon them with any force. His sister was clearly an *embavo*, a coconut spirit. In this way the deaths are, to Orokaiva thought, adequately accounted for.

The hero explains two types of ritual uses of coconut and areca, namely, those related to mortuary feasts and those where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The instruction that nobody should eat the nuts lying under the trees, on pain of death, constitutes a mythological charter for the taboo placed upon the coco palms and areca palms owned by a person recently dead. An informant explained a further implication to me, which is not very clear from the version I quoted, namely, that it is customary to place coconuts and areca nuts upon the grave of a dead affine. Thus it was the duty of the hero to place coconuts and areca nuts upon the grave of his brother-in-law; and the duty of his wife to do the same for the grave of her sister-in-law. In order to clarify these points, the myth tells of the wife's desire to eat the nuts and the hero's refusal to let her have them.

In a somewhat elliptic manner, the hero lists or implies three sets of rules concerning gifts of coconut and areca, where the sex of the recipient of the nuts is opposite to that of the donor. The sets are:

Areca	*Coconut*
1a. The man fetches the nuts from the tree.	1b. The woman *helps to fetch* the nuts from the tree.
2a. The man gives the nuts to the woman.	2b. The woman cooks the nuts for the man.
3a. The girl offers nuts to her lover and carries an offering of nuts at initiation.	3b. At a girl's initiation, a man prepares coconut oil, which is used as a ritual cosmetic.

The first opposition is made quite explicit in the hero's speech, but is not free from casuistry. Men usually fetch not only areca but also coconuts from the high palms on which they

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grow. The woman may help by collecting coconuts once they have dropped on the ground and by carrying them home. Very often, however, the coconuts are carried by men, who tie two nuts to a stalk, thus creating a huge effigy of a phallus. The feeble empirical basis of this opposition only serves to emphasize that we are here being taught an ideology which requires the opposition.

The hero's second opposition centers on the culinary use made of the nuts. Areca has no place in the kitchen, in opposition to coconut. The fact that coconut is also often eaten raw would weaken the opposition but is suppressed. The third opposition is in fact the strongest, but it is stated in a rather elliptical manner. We are told that in ritual girls give areca to men, but the opposite statement is omitted, viz., that in the same initiatory context *men* (but never women) pour coconut oil over girls.

In the narrator's mind all these oppositions are probably subordinate to a philosophical question: why the Orokaiva consider coconut masculine, areca feminine. Numerous informants have confirmed this classification in conversations with me. In this story, however, it is not presented as a "fact," but it is deduced in a logical manner. The words used make it clear that we have to do with a logical deduction:

> *Ainge* embo amina ainge ena. Embo amina *ainge eto*, erevi u ra embo erevi u ra; te sa erevi meni kakara ra;—*ainge eto* ikena.

This passage, translated above, contains the notion of logical entailment three times: *because* the girl gives coconut to the man, it *therefore* belongs to the man; *because* coconut belongs to a man, *therefore* coconut is masculine; *because* areca is a girl, girls give areca. The problem, for those who do not know Orokaiva culture, is that every one of the conclusions appears to lack logical force. Furthermore, it will be noticed that, from a formal viewpoint, the narrator's argument proceeds quite differently for men and for girls. This difference also needs explanation.

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When I heard this tale, I could not help arguing with my informant. I said: If the coconut grew out of the girl's grave and she later gave the coconut to the man, wouldn't it follow then that the coconut is feminine? My informant received this argument with a tinge of pity. It proved to him, if any proof were needed, that white men are indeed quite incapable of abstract reasoning. It took him some time to understand what problem I could possibly be having. Finally he said: "The girl intended these coconuts as gifts for a man; therefore, they must be masculine." At that point I remembered I had heard this argument somewhere before, in Mr. Lévi-Strauss' introduction to Marcel Mauss, *Sociologie et anthropologie* (1950). If we produce something that is *intended to be given away*, it was called into being by a prior relationship between donor and recipient, and could not be utilized by the former without losing its predetermined nature.

We find the same line of thought elsewhere in Orokaiva culture: pigs cannot be eaten by those who reared them because they are, from the beginning, set apart as gift objects. The most striking and intimate instance may be found in a myth of a woman who has a detachable vagina. She pretends to her husband that she has lost it: "I dropped your vagina in the water." The husband looks for it between the stones of the river: "I am looking for my vagina."

In all these cases the gift object partakes of the nature of the recipient. However, the narrator appears to follow a quite different line of reasoning when he says: "Because areca is a girl, girls give areca." There is an apparent contradiction here, which is resolved only when we recognize that two different types of gift must be distinguished—perhaps we can call them "metaphoric" and "metonymic." If we call a coconut a man or a man a coconut, we are using a metaphor. Furthermore, if we proceed to call an areca a girl, we are setting up a metaphoric opposition (coconut/areca) which corresponds to the real opposition (man/woman). When Mr. Sperber speaks of "code structures" (1968:211), he is principally referring to classificatory systems built up from such metaphoric oppositions. When

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I use the term "metaphoric gift," I mean a gift about which we are told in a story, the message of the story being that gift and the recipient are metaphorically identical. The point of the story is to establish the symbiosis of man and woman by the use of the metaphor. An example of such a story would be the gift of sacred emblems to the infant Dionysus in Orphic myth. This story tells us how Dionysus received certain gifts (cone, bull-roarer, golden apples, mirror, knuckle-bone, tuft of wool) which defined his nature. In the same way, in Orokaiva myth men are given a coconut nature and women, an areca nature.

Orokaiva informants offer what they regard as empirical evidence for this. Coconut may be recognized as a man because the palm germinates slowly and the fruit comes to maturity slowly ("it comes slowly"). Likewise, so I was told, the male is slow to be sexually aroused and to desire women. Areca may be recognized as a girl because it germinates and comes to maturity quickly—the fruit matures faster than the coconut. Likewise, woman is quick to be sexually aroused and to feel desire for a man. In this analogy, the botanical facts are evident but the psychological generalizations describe no more, perhaps, than Orokaiva role expectations.

While metaphoric gifts do no more than mythically explain a code structure, metonymic gifts are those which mediate social relations between partners whose nature was established prior to the gift and whose nature is not changed essentially by the gift. In such a case it may be said that the donor "gives part of himself." Thus a girl, whose nature is that of areca, will give areca, and a man, whose nature is coconut, will give coconut. The metonymic gift is the basis of network structures. If the two partners in social exchange are of a different nature (in respect of the transaction in question), then each will use his own distinctive object of mediation as gift to the other. Girls give areca to men, but men give coconut to girls. (I am speaking now of a ritual, not an everyday context.) The simplest kind of network structure may therefore be represented by the following model:

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Object of
mediation (1)

Partner (1) Object of exchange (1) Object of exchange (2) Partner (2)

Object of
mediation (2)

In the case under consideration, the two partners are man and woman; the objects of social exchange are male sexuality and female sexuality; and the objects of mediation are coconut and areca. The model shows the basic difference between code structures and network structures. The former consist of logically related binary oppositions, whereas in the latter the two partners are engaged in the somewhat magical pursuit of setting up, maintaining, or restoring social relations with one another. Whereas code structures have to do with symbolic thought, network structures have to do with action. There are a great many types of social relationships which are mediated by coconut and areca. By no means all of these are cross-sexual or between affines. Many are extremely casual. Except in a ritual context, the relationship between these gifts and male or female sexuality is extremely attenuated.

No trace of hierarchy can be found on the level of code structure. The relationship between coconut and areca is one of plant symbiosis. The one plant cannot prosper without the other. This makes each of them infinitely dependent on the other, so that neither can be superior to the other. It should be noted that the symbiosis expressed in the myth and in Orokaiva belief is not an empirical fact. The two plants are not, by strict botanical criteria, interdependent parts of the ecosystem. The man/woman opposition is real; the coconut/areca opposition is metaphorical and the symbiosis is imaginary. When the narrator lists rules concerning coconut and areca gifts, the oppositions between sex roles are feeble indeed. The narrator

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proceeds as though he wished to prove at all costs the absolute interdependence of husband and wife, the absolute necessity of their symbiosis. So important is this ideological notion of symbiosis that the culture has set up numerous imaginary plant symbioses to emphasize it. There is no time here to analyze several other recorded myths which carry the same message.

We may also say that hierarchy is absent on the level of network structure (in the sense of Sperber, 1968) as there is no problem of allocation and no competitive aspect in obligations relating to the giving of coconut and areca. With the exception of mortuary feasts, the nuts are given away in small quantities, as tokens which are part of ordinary social exchange. If a visitor is given no coconut on his arrival in a village, this is rarely because of any absence of coconuts, but mostly because one does not want the visitor to stay, and this unwillingness has nothing to do with the coconut transaction. If there are really no coconuts, this does not affect the relationship. The same applies to areca.

The manner in which coconut and areca are given to guests confirms and expresses the existing social stratification. The most important guest receives the first coconut. He is also likely to receive a large gift of areca, which he then distributes to his followers. Though Orokaiva society is much less stratified than many other New Guinea societies that have been reported, men differ in influence and only the most influential can hold feasts. The position of the "bigger men," as one may call them, is not validated by any ideology or formally designated position, hereditary or otherwise, as is the case in Polynesia.

2. TARO

The foregoing discussion of coconut and areca has been presented because it provides a particularly clear illustration of the nature of code structures and network structures. I would not, however, classify either the code or the networks arising out of coconut and areca exchanges as hierarchical. If we compare these fruits with taro, the principal staple of the Orokaiva,

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we find that taro resembles them in that taro gifts are ritual statements by which attitudes toward social relations are communicated. We may say, to use Mr. Sperber's terminology again, that in this respect they form a code structure. It will be shown that this code structure is again nonhierarchical, thus resembling coconut and areca. On the other hand, a statistical study of the behavior of exchange partners shows that, on the level of exchange structure, there are rules by which a hierarchy is unconsciously generated between households and between villages. A system which combines a hierarchical network with a nonhierarchical code might be described, in my terms, as political, though incompletely so.

Most taro produced by the Orokaiva (over 90% in the villages surveyed) is consumed directly by the producing household. Nonetheless taro is the most ubiquitous of all Orokaiva objects of exchange; most households give some of it away every day. It is also part of the conventional set of gifts that change hands on virtually every ceremonial occasion. The main purpose of such gifts is usually the mediating of social relations rather than the setting up of a claim for a specific return gift. The ritual statements that may be made by means of taro gifts fall into two categories: raw taro, ritually given by men, tends to be part of a ceremony aimed at the establishment or restoration of social relations, whereas gifts of cooked taro, normally made by women, are part of the process of maintaining social relations of a certain degree of intimacy.

I shall base the following abbreviated analysis of taro symbolism on one myth. Of the several versions collected, I shall quote the fullest one, indicating variants where relevant. The name of the principal hero is usually given as Totoima, though this name does not appear in the version quoted. Williams has some references to the Totoima myth (see 1930:155, 158–159, 276), but these are not very illuminating. The following version was obtained from Samuel Jovareka, born at Kiorota and now a resident of Sivepe village:

> A husband slept with his wife. She became pregnant and gave birth to a small child. The husband came and asked:

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"Woman, where does the boy come from?" "I have just given birth to him." "Then he is mine to eat. Strike and sever him; when he is dead cut him up and cook him for me to eat."

The woman was very sad because she had to kill and cook her child. They slept together again and this time the woman gave birth to a female child, which was treated in the same manner. Male twin children followed next. But when the man came to fetch these, he could not find them. The mother had taken them to a hiding place, where she covered them with a heap of weeds [*bivese*] by the root of a tree.

On some pretext, the mother returned to the field, nursed the children and covered them over again. When she came home, the husband said: "Wife, what did you do with my child that was in your belly?" "Husband, I threw my child into the water because it was bad," she replied. "I am going to collect cabbage."

Having said this, she climbed a cabbage tree. As she looked down and saw the place where she had put her children, she began to weep. When she returned to the ground, her husband said, "Wife, why did I see you cry when you climbed to collect cabbage?" "When I went to collect the cabbage, the sap squirted into my eyes and I rubbed them," she said. "You are lying," he said.

When the children were fully grown, she took them to the mountain far away. She told them their history; "therefore, I must leave you behind and you must stay," she said. When she joined her husband again, he asked: "Why did you stay away so long?" "As soon as I had done my work and planted my seed [*bere kovitie*], I started on my way home," she said. "Woman, you are telling lies," he replied. When the man understood what his wife had been saying, he went away.

The two children, all by themselves, made a garden, ate their food and kept alive. The man went to where the two children were staying. The female sibling had gone to collect taro while the male sibling was lying asleep with his chest turned upwards in the shelter. It was there that the man found him, recognized him at once as his child and cut out his heart and intestines. He ate these, leaving the rest of the body behind for the next day.

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The story tells in more detail than is relevant here how the sister learned what had happened, how a magician from the neighboring mountain district of Managalase brought the brother back to life by giving him the heart and intestines of a wallaby, how this man married his sister and how the young man killed his father when the latter returned to complete his meal. He cut the father into many pieces, which were shared out among men whose descendants became the various language groups of the northern district, and multiplied exceedingly.

The informant who told me the myth suggested that its subject was the origin of taro cultivation. The whole text is deliberately ambiguous. When we are told of the woman giving birth to a child, we must think simultaneously of her harvesting a taro—and we must remember that among the Orokaiva only women are considered *capable* of harvesting taro. When the woman is told to cut the child's head off, the narrator is thinking simultaneously of harvested taro, which is considered to be still alive until the top is severed from the rhizome. Again, the woman's method of concealing her children is modeled on the treatment given to taro shoots (*bere*) when they are planted. The word *bivese*, in particular, denoting the heap of weeds with which the children are covered, is a gardening term.

The apparent lies used by the woman to hide her activities from her husband are truths if her statements are taken symbolically. For instance, the reference to "throwing the child into the water" calls to mind that the origin of taro in many myths is linked to the water and that the rainy season is metaphorically linked to the fostering of a child in the womb.

The true nature of Totoima, though familiar to every Orokaiva, is not explicitly set out in the myth presented here. In other tales he has tusks which he wears when he kills people, but which he lays aside when he goes to sleep. He is killed by his son after his tusks have been removed from his bed. I shall return to this theme in a later section of this essay. Meanwhile, we note that in attacking his son, lying in the *gaga*, Totoima behaves in the manner of a wild pig while his son behaves like harvested taro. Totoima has partly a pig nature, partly a human nature, and these aspects are only partly differentiated. His son,

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by killing him, sets up a boundary between pig nature and human nature which thenceforth remains rigidly fixed. What concerns me is the link, in the present myth, between this theme and the origin of taro cultivation.

The myth appears to be built up out of three sets of oppositions. One is the dual nature of Totoima, already discussed. The second is the dual nature of his wife, or of woman, who nurtures Totoima and also conspires to kill him. This second aspect is also found in numerous myths concerning Totoima. In the present version not only the wife but also the daughter is involved in conspiracy. The taro are her children, and it is right that Totoima should eat them. She feeds them to him. However, she places restrictions on Totoima's appetite. This is an essential part of any myth concerning the domestication of plants. The *bere* of the taro, the cuttings, or more strictly, the corm-bearing bases of the petioles of the taro plants, must be preserved for the next harvest. It is the woman's duty to withhold these from her husband and to manage the taro field so that the supply of *bere* is always assured from year to year. It is for her to see that her husband behaves like a "domesticated" human being. This is notoriously difficult for the male even today. In that sense, Totoima may be said to be reborn with every generation. Woman's two aspects—nurture and domestication—are crucial in the ritual statements that are made through gifts of taro.

The third opposition, to which I have just referred, is between the taro garden—the patch of land that is cultivated and domesticated—and the bush where the wild pigs, the ghosts, and the enemies are. This is at the same time, essentially, the opposition between the male and female spheres of life. Man, the hunter and fighter, is primarily concerned with the world outside the garden. To woman, this is an excessively dangerous world, and the sphere of the village and garden must constantly be protected from its influence. The symbiosis between man and woman is based upon gifts of products obtained by each sex in one sphere of life and indispensable in the other. Thus the garden products are indispensable to the life of the male. Conversely, the meat killed by the male is indispensable to the

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female. I have collected a number of myths concerning the origin of marriage, where that institution is created by the male hero's act of bringing meat home for sharing with his wife instead of eating it in the bush, as was customary before marriage existed. It is also the male on whom the female depends for clearing the ground and making a garden, and for clearing a village site and building houses.

If female nature, in its pure state, is found in the taro garden and male nature, in its pure state, is found in the jungle, then it follows that human beings, being born of a man and a woman, have a mixed nature. One may say of Totoima that in him this dual nature is imperfectly developed; that he behaves toward taro in the manner of a cannibal. Similarly it is at first imperfectly developed in his son, who does not hunt and has purely a taro nature. He is therefore easily defeated by Totoima. It is only when the man from Managalase has replaced the son's taro innards with animal entrails that the latter has the power to defeat his father. He is then superior to his father because he has a fully human nature which is symbolized by his manner of killing, namely, with a club rather than the teeth (as Totoima did).

The second type of ritual statement is made by men giving raw taro, complete with tops, to other men, usually in the context of a feast. Although such gifts are confined to varieties classified as "feasting taro" (*pondo ba*), most tubers actually grown in the villages I studied fall in this category. This second type of ritual statement can be understood only once we have explained why in most Orokaiva taro myths there is not a single originating hero, but two, namely, a pair of siblings of opposite sex. In the myths which have a single hero, that hero is invariably a woman. In chants sung in homage to the taro divinity, this deity is always called Bako Jape (grandmother taro); taro, for the Orokaiva, is symbolically equal to "our mother," as they often say. The presence of the male sibling therefore certainly needs explanation.

To this puzzle I shall add another, which is posed by a detail of the text of the myth as quoted here. It will be noted that in the beginning of the myth the twins born to the taro

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woman are both male whereas at the end they are described as siblings of different sex. Did the informant err in the opening sentences? It is possible but, in the case of Samuel Jovareka, not at all likely. This second puzzle seems a very trivial one, but we shall find that, if we know why the sex of the taro in the narrative changed, we shall also know why there are two taro ancestors in the myth, and why these are siblings of opposite sex.

The myth takes us through *two* complete taro cultivation cycles, not just one. We are told of the planting of taro in the water, covered over with weeds to protect them from the sun, the gradual growth of the plants under the woman's care, the shifting of *bere* (developed in the taro) to a *new* garden "established at some distance from the old one, as is customary," and finally the growing of these *bere* to maturity. I was given no explanation of this duplication, but would ascribe it to the punctiliousness with which the Orokaiva regard the domestication process, a characteristic which I shall discuss in more detail in connection with pigs. The myth starts with the finding of wild taro and the transplanting of that taro to a clearing. But it is only the *bere* that have been *grown* in that clearing that can be described as truly domesticated taro.

The effect of this domestication process on the disposal of taro was that in the beginning, when the woman simply found taro and then cooked it, *all* taro harvested by the woman was a gift to the man. Therefore, if we follow the same kind of reasoning as we learned from the coconut and areca myth, all taro harvested by the woman was of male gender. We may say equally well that Totoima ate all taro whether it was male (i.e., intended for him) or female (i.e., not intended for him under conditions of domestication). At the end of the myth, however, a differentiation has been effected between the male taro, which lies in the shelter ready for consumption, and the female taro, which has gone elsewhere, presumably to a new garden. The taro is female at all stages of its development but male at the point where it becomes available for giving away.

There are now two ways in which this product may be disposed of. It may be given away by a woman in cooked form or

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it may be given away, complete with tops, by a man to other men. We here see the same contrast which we met before between a metaphoric and a metonymic gift. The feminine gift, in this case, is metaphoric: she gives her own essence, which is taro, to the man. In return she receives meat, the man's essence; but we come to this later. The male gift of taro, raw and complete, is metonymic: he gives some part of his taro nature, conferred upon him by woman, to another man with whom he desires to establish or restore social relations.

The significance of taro, as part of the nature of the human male, is clarified in the myth by the opposition between the male twin and the man from Managalase. The Managalase is a neighboring mountain district where the main crop is yam, not taro, but where a variety of taro (called *pijama*) is also grown. It is not, however, grown in gardens but in small bush clearings. The Managalase magician is therefore in an intermediate position between Totoima and his son: unlike Totoima, he recognizes the technology of domestication of taro, but he recognizes it inadequately, being mainly a hunter. Such, at least, is the view expressed in Orokaiva stories about the Managalase.

Taro, to the Orokaiva, is symbolic of strength; it is preferred to other staples because it builds stronger men, so it is believed. Taro is, moreover, the principal bulk gift displayed at feasts. Certainly, pigs are always given away at feasts, but in small quantities, and the size of the feasts is not principally measured by the amount of pig meat given away. It is by the quantity of taro that changes hands that the size of an Orokaiva feast is measured. A pole is placed in the center of the heap and measured. When taro is received at a return feast, the recipients take it back to their own village and lay it against the same pole. If the quantity is smaller, the other side has lost the competition. The strength of a village is measured by the amount of taro it can produce. The strength of a fighter or hunter is derived not so much from the amount of game he has previously killed; it is derived from the taro he has eaten. It is in this sense that taro, when consumed by man, is stronger than pig, though in the absence of this metabolism, pigs are stronger than taro.

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Finally, it is significant that in the fighting between Orokaiva and Managalase, the former were most often the aggressors and the latter were the victims of cannibal raids, of inroads on their hunting territory, and so forth. Thus the Orokaiva regard themselves as stronger than the Managalase (certainly they are more numerous, as their fertile land can support a denser population) and the Orokaiva explain their greater strength by the abundance of their taro supplies.

While it is clear enough that there are no hierarchical implications in female taro gifts (they symbolize the symbiosis between the sexes), a kind of hierarchical ordering is apparent with regard to male taro gifts, inasmuch as the myth is concerned with a conflict between adjacent generations, where the father seeks to kill and is killed by the son.

It seems to me, however, that hierarchical ordering of this kind does not fall within Mr. Dumont's definition (1966:92), namely, that hierarchy is "un principe de gradation des éléments d'un ensemble par référence à l'ensemble."[3] This seems to exclude hierarchical ordering within a family, or corporate group, on the mere basis of age and generation. It does not altogether exclude the kind of stratification suggested in the myth as between hunters and gatherers (lowest tier), hunters and bush-clearing cultivators (middle tier), and garden cultivators (highest tier). Within the framework of Orokaiva society this is not a hierarchical relation between population groups but an evolutionary sequence with little reference to actual social relations. When the Orokaiva postulate some superiority over Managalase, this is no more than tribal rhetoric on their part. Nonetheless, on the level of rhetoric, we find hierarchical ordering of tribes according to their cultivation practices.

Taro, moreover, gives rise to hierarchy on the level of network structures. Taro has a special position in the Orokaiva exchange system in that it symbolizes commensality. Though, in terms of the myth, it is only a gift made by a woman to her husband, in practice cooked taro is given also to those households which a woman wishes to honor with a kind of pseudo-commensality. The taro is taken to the home of the recipient,

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241 461 Time is therefore a highly inappropriate measure of useful activity in Orokaiva gardens. Whether *simbari* is effective or ineffective does not depend just on the time spent. It depends on the warding off of sorcery and hence on ensuring one has no dangerous enemies. It depends on harmony in the family. It depends on avoiding straying pigs, not just by building fences but by being the kind of person into whose garden one does not want one's pigs to stray. The anthropological observer notices a certain selectiveness in Orokaiva pigs . . .

554 461 A great man, or a manager, is not always a gardener. He may be a sorcerer. But if he is a gardener he is a great gardener. He accomplishes his garden as a craftsman accomplishes a model, an ΕΙΔΟΣ, or as Orokaiva say, an *ove*. His image of the world is not dark like that of Hesiod or of Adam's curse. An Orokaiva informant once recorded for me on tape his version of the relevant portion of Genesis:

[773] [177] [539] "You will bear children, lift string bags, draw water; you will do all those things and be loaded down with sorrow, so He said; and then He spoke to her husband Adam thus: You will take the axe, cut the second growth, chop down the trees, lop off the branches. In the hot sun, in sorrow, with pain all over your body, you will labour hard." He said.

He thereupon determined that Eve and Adam spoke thus: "This is the way we shall all wish to act on earth: our bodies will be painful from work; and the women as well as the men will be in pain and sorrow from hard work. And as our food will be prepared and ready we stay to eat. All right we did not know that God would not let us have what we had taken and eaten."

Therefore God said to them: "Long will be the day of sorrow when you have sorrow, but when you have happy days you will be happy." So he said. Therefore we shall live in this way from now onwards . . .

This interpretation is not, I believe, merely garbled. It is a clear message that the Orokaiva just will not understand why, after working hard in the sun, they should afterwards eat their bread or taro in sorrow. To them, this is not a mere question of how they would feel, but a moral matter. Whoever wrote the original of this text was obviously lacking in respect for bread or targo.

Daniel de Coppet (1976) rightly suggested gardening in Melanesia was a religious act, like a sacrament, as is also eating the produce. Whatever pain there may be is sacramentally transformed. Man feels his unity with the Taro goddess and also with the garden and the crop.

27: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1970) 1979 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

121 13. This method of setting up semiotic domains for study is probably due to Lévi-Strauss, long before it became canonized as part of the science of semiotics (Eco 1972). See also Schwimmer (1977a), for an Orokaiva example.

14. The term 'manager' instead of the tedious 'big man' is due to Burridge (1969) and is heartily recommended to practitioners.

114 15. I briefly analyzed Williams' Kutubu study (Williams 1976), but missed the full implications of the myth cycle reported by Williams. A rea-reanalysis of that work, with full use of the myths, is overdue.

16. See for a first analysis Schwimmer (1973), later supplemented by Schwimmer (1974a) (coconut, areca and taro) and (1979a) (pigs).

554 17. A discussion of work specialization among Orokaiva (of which there is
577 but little) will be found in Schwimmer (1967). An interesting type of
305 specialist not so far described is the expert body decorator (Schwimmer 1973: 177, 185) to whom the ritual payment of a pig is due when he officiates, and who appears to officiate regularly at initiations.

114 18. For a full discussion of the concepts involved see Schwimmer (1979a).

19. The text: "*Umo meni ingesoa, eti atimbasoa, i umbasoa, umo timbasoa;*
773 *donda deire tapa amo aisi oa eto tunga osaga umbasoa.' Ainge ena.*
177 *Ainge ivu tu ena: 'Adam, umo ainge hogoro umbasoa, andage aisi oa*
539 *eto i gaipi oa, pure firembasi oa; iji vevere tunga osago hamo memega re tapa pure gulha aisi oa.' Ainge ena. Ainge eto ikena avo embo Eave te Adam te ainge ena: 'Ainge dombo dago tapa endata emo ainge do aisi uje eagora: pure te deire amo tapa hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pamone ainge ga earora, dago embo ainge hamo memega te tunga osaga te tapa pure gulha avo earora. Eto donda matu nunuga ena avo indie iruetera avo. Aravorate, ungo kiaekiae eto God na taekena avo umbuto india. Aravo embo eto avo God ena: 'Avo iji koso ami tunga osaga iji tunga osaga aisi ova, ainge tunga javatoho iji amo tunga javatoho aisi ova.' Ainge ena. Avo embo dago tapa emo oroho emite ue irora."* Robert, Sivepe, 1966.

694 20. The text: "*Embo handa piriti embo na punduto umbuto, sokova ari ke*
754 *eto umbuto, Kokoda pambuo, koto ea, aramiko pure mo aravora."* Councillor Colin, Tórogota, 1966. After describing a number of devices used by magicians and miracles they wrought, Colin continued: "*Avo da piriti embo na samani eo pambuto re koto ea, amiko donda aravo porukau aravo pure puvuna."* Translation: Police handcuffed village people and took them to Kokoda if they were believed to be telling lies. Court was held; then they would start work . . . When a summons was issued by the policeman, then those magic things would be put to work.

245 21. At the time the Waddell and Krinks study was done, only the younger men grew coffee; the authors therefore saw a correlation between age and coffee growing. During my restudy I found this correlation to be false, first because it did not apply to the clan omitted from the earlier authors' chosen sample, and secondly because the oldest men they studied began to grow coffee shortly after their departure. The substitution of German taro (*xantosoma* sp.) for classical taro (*colocasia* sp.)